The Platform Was the Payoff—*An Editorial*

THE Nation

July 19, 1952

A Cross-Section of Liberal Opinion

*

Pitfalls Ahead for Eisenhower

BY WILLARD SHELTON

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

MacArthur Patriots

Chicago

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S supporters at the Republican National Convention included an embarrassingly active group of elderly seditionists and other extreme rightists who had "faded away" after World War II but emerged in Chicago to prove themselves far from dead. While the General was telling the Republicans that the Democratic Party was "captive to the schemers and planners who have infiltrated its ranks of leadership to set the national course unerringly toward the socialistic regimentation of a totalitarian state," schemers and planners among his backers were trying to infiltrate the Republican Party. Virtually every "nationalist" and professional anti-Semite at Chicago was found in the MacArthur camp, some being former Taft men who had deserted the Senator after he repudiated "smear material" aimed at General Eisenhower. Within minutes after MacArthur spoke of the "coming crusade," members of Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian Nationalist Crusade" appeared in the Conrad Hilton lobby and distributed anti-Jewish literature urging support of the old soldier as a candidate.

Campaigning for MacArthur of this kind began even before the convention opened. A day before the keynote speech Don Lohbeck, chief lieutenant of the Smith organization and editor of the *Cross and Flag*, took over the principal MacArthur rally. More than 500 persons heard Lohbeck denounce the "Christ-haters" in the Truman Administration.

Some 200 delegates from various "patriotic" groups who had gathered in Chicago to plan their strategy soon split into two groups over the question of how much overt anti-Semitism should be used. The larger group, consisting of about 150 persons, held a meeting at the Atlantic Hotel under the chairmanship of Mrs. Lyrl Van Hyning, head of We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc. In an impassioned speech Mrs. Van Hyning said she felt it impossible to expose the "secret government" without mentioning such personalities as Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Anna Rosenberg, and others who she said happened to be Jewish. At a meeting of the smaller group Joseph Beauharnais, head of the White Circle League which figured in last year's anti-Negro riot at Cicero, presided. The most important issue, he said, was not the "Jewish problem" but white supremacy. The two groups agreed that only MacArthur could "save Christianity, defend the Constitution, and prevent the mongrelization of the races." Tracts and other material supporting MacArthur were distributed at these meetings and later appeared at the Conrad Hilton and in the convention hall.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was criticized at the Van Hyning meeting for "associating" with representatives of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League whom he had met at the home of George Sokolsky, the columnist, a friend of McCarthy's. Nationalists were urged to see their state delegations in behalf of MacArthur because Taft was said to have indicated a "soft attitude toward communism" through his condemnation of anti-Semitic propaganda against Eisenhower. This smear stuff had been widely disseminated in many bitter primary campaigns. After the last primary Taft repudiated it in a forthright statement.

Senator Herbert R. O'Conor, Maryland Democrat, sent a letter of greeting to the Beauharnais group, praising it for seeking "to preserve white neighborhoods" and "to oust the Reds from America." Active at this gathering were Conde McGinley, editor of the New Jersey periodical *Common Cause*, which attacks "Yiddish Marxists"; Peter Xavier, author of "Rise, America"; and John W. Hamilton, who left the Gerald L. K. Smith organization to form the Citizens' Protective Association. Bill Hendrix, leader of the Florida Ku Klux Klan, wired that urgent Klan business kept him away.

George T. Foster, director of Constitutional Americans, reported to the Van Hyning assembly that Eisenhower was "Baruch-picked." Others present were two World War II sedition defendants, Colonel E. N. Sanctuary and Elizabeth Dilling; F. C. Sammons, head of the racist West Virginia Anti-Communist League; a member of the pro-Nazi Yugoslav Ustachi, who spoke against American support of Tito; an American with crossed daggers tattooed on his arms who complained that Korea was a "Jewish war"; and women who said they were D. A. R.'s.

Nationalist sound trucks on Michigan Avenue bore posters of the Christian cross and lauded MacArthur as its defender. An "official" MacArthur rally at the Congress Hotel under the chairmanship of Dan Madrano, a Republican state committeeman of Oklahoma, was attended by Frank E. Gannett, president of the Gannett newspaper chain; a man who wore a Christian Front pin in his lapel and introduced himself as C. Daniel Kurtz, "head of the New York Anti-Communist League"; and Allen Zoll. Zoll has been identified by the Anti-Defamation League as "inextricably bound together" with Smith, Kamp, Upton Close, and Merwin K. Hart in "parallel drives for a way of life grounded in narrow bigotry and bounded by a malevolent nationalism." Frederick G. Cartwright, of Englewood, New Jersey, who has been associated with Zoll's efforts to protect youth from the wrong sort of education, was applauded as the author of the official MacArthur campaign song.

Not all the pro-MacArthur material distributed was anti-Semitic. Mimeographed sheets urged MacArthur supporters never to "refer disparagingly to any race, creed, or color" when trying to promote the General among delegates. A few persons wearing MacArthur buttons accused others of accepting the cooperation of "the fanatics." MacArthur himself has been asked by reputable Jewish spokesmen to repudiate hate propaganda in his favor but has not yet done so.

MILTON FRIEDMAN

[*Milton Friedman is Washington correspondent for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.*]

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

The Steel Strike

The six-week-old steel strike may be quietly on its way to a settlement. Contributing factors include the absence of a Congressional forum for impassioned oratory trying to make political capital of the strike, failure of the "back-to-work" movement inspired by United States Steel and Jones and Laughlin, and the fact that the strike has reached the point where its continuance would eat into the profits of the steel companies. Shutdowns by steel users due to lack of steel have been reported in many areas. Although some of these shutdowns are seasonal, it is estimated that more than a million workers are now idle as a result of the strike of 650,000 steel workers. The main hope for settlement, however, is seen in the resumption of meetings between union and industry spokesmen last Thursday. Ostensibly the conferences are to discuss the movement of iron ore from the Mesabi Range to the steel plants; the iron-mine workers called a sympathy strike shortly after the steelworkers walked out. The companies contend that unless shipments are resumed, shortage of ore may cause shutdowns next winter. With the pressures for settlement mounting, a new agreement seems likely—especially now that "excessive" inventories have been sufficiently reduced to insure a high level of profits for the rest of the year.

Rome-McCarran Axis

In striking a prohibition against the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the Vatican from a House-approved appropriations bill, Senator McCarran demonstrated that he is the virtually unchallenged boss of the Senate. Explaining his action, Senator McCarran announced that he saw "no occasion to raise a religious issue in an appropriations bill." Yet he approved with enthusiasm a limitation that the State Department shall use no portion of its funds for any international organization that directly or indirectly promotes world government or world citizenship—a prohibition clearly aimed at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which has been severely attacked recently by Catholics for its "secular" and "materialistic" approach to various problems.

A story from Rome by David Lawrence ties in with the removal of the ban on sending an envoy to the Vatican and indicates the strategy of a new campaign to achieve this end. It seems that the Vatican would now be satisfied with the establishment of an American legation instead of an embassy. And it would not expect Washington to receive a papal nuncio or Vatican minister to the State Department. According to Mr. Lawrence, the Vatican recognizes today that a mistake was made in stressing the "listening-post" argument for the appointment of an ambassador. It now contends that it is not what the Vatican listens to that is important but what the Vatican could do if it had a chance to listen officially to some "of the many men who are directing economic aid throughout Europe, particularly in such countries as France, Germany, and Italy, where there are millions of Catholics actively welded together in political parties with Catholic influence predominating."

Now that Senator McCarran has removed the major roadblock, the drive to send a "minister" to the Vatican —once established, the legation can always be raised to the level of an embassy—will be renewed.

Safety in the Mines

The United Mine Workers have finally won their long fight for reasonably adequate federal mine-safety legislation. Congress has adopted, and the President will doubtless approve, the measure sponsored by Representative Samuel McConnell of Pennsylvania. Now, for the first time, federal inspectors will be authorized to close down a mine and order the workers out if they find imminent danger of disaster. They should therefore be able to prevent such disasters as the explosion which last year took the lives of 119 miners at West Frankfort, Illinois (see Murder in the Mines by Willard Shelton, *The Nation,* February 9, 1952).

The new mine-safety act is about the only pro-labor legislation that Congress has enacted in the last three or four years. And it is instructive to note that its passage was made possible by the temporary disruption of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, which has been the dominant force in Congress since the late 1930's. The bill was opposed chiefly by the Southern coal operators, who could hold the Dixiecrats in line but not influence many Northern Republicans.

It should be noted, too, that there are many miners in Pennsylvania and Illinois, and also in the border states

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of West Virginia and Kentucky, and that their votes are of special importance to the Republicans this year. It was perhaps for this reason that Representative McConnell, a Republican, was asked to sponsor the legislation in the House instead of Representative Melvin Price, of Illinois, a Democrat, who had introduced similar legislation in other years. Fortunately the bill was regarded as "non-controversial," that is, not strictly labor legislation, so that even Taft could afford to support it in the Senate.

The Platform Was the Payoff

NOW that the Republicans have adopted a platform and nominated General Eisenhower, how far, and in what direction, has the 1952 political drama been advanced?

From Abilene to Detroit, General Eisenhower sounded as though he were trying to reassure and appease the extreme right wing of the Republican Party. From Detroit to Denver, and from Denver to Chicago, he appeared to be drawing back from this extreme position, emphasizing the need for a peace policy and saying some pretty harsh things about the "theft" of Southern delegations. But once in Chicago, the cynical and efficient Tom Dewey took over and the General ceased to "roar," as he had promised, and was content to smile and watch the television set in his hotel suite. The take-over by Dewey, so graphically revealed by the TV camera, was the high point in the pre-balloting phase at Chicago.

In the meantime John Foster Dulles and Senator Millikin had been drafting a platform. As adopted, the platform represents virtually total capitulation to the extreme right wing of the party. Nine-tenths introductory, the foreign-policy statement is almost pure Dulles. The only concession that Eisenhower obtained and apparently insisted upon was the removal from the defense plank of the ominous phrase "retaliatory striking power." According to C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the New York *Times*, the General became "unusually disturbed" when he saw this phrase and insisted upon its removal. While it is true that wrapped up in the word "retaliation" may be found what Mr. Sulzberger calls the "unbridgeable differences" between the coalitionists and the unilateralists—the latter being really advocates of a preventive war—the removal of this one phrase hardly changed the character of the foreign-policy plank.

As a whole, the plank clearly reflects the anti-European, Asia-first, allies-be-damned views of General Douglas MacArthur. For example, NATO is never mentioned. The United Nations is given only perfunctory support. There is no reference to Point Four. The existence of revolutionary currents of unrest in many areas of the world is wholly ignored. The Republicans "repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings

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such as those of Yalta and which aid Communist enslavement," but not a word is said about how the United States is to effect this repudiation and regain in 1953 what it gave up in 1944. Even in the minor matter of phraseology, about the only concession made to Eisenhower was the inclusion of two of his favorite phrases—"enlightened self-interest" and "spiritual faith."

Turning to domestic issues, we find the same capitulation to the right wing in every section. Not only is the civil-rights plank evasive and meaningless, but it was adopted without significant debate in committee or on the floor. It contains nothing of which Jimmy Byrnes or Senator Byrd would not approve; yet such pro-Eisenhower delegates as Senator Morse, Senator Ives, and Governor Dewey accepted it in silence. Why did these men, who have consistently supported civil-rights legislation, permit the General to accept an even less progressive plank than the one the party adopted in 1944? It can be inferred that they did so, first, because they had determined to let the dinosaurs have the platform without a fight provided they could themselves name the candidate; and, second, because they count on the General's personal popularity—his "charism" or political glamour—to win despite the platform and the men behind it.

But now that he has won the nomination by adopting the platform of his principal opponent, General Eisenhower may be tempted to campaign in the Taft idiom. Even should he try to give the platform his personal "interpretation," there will be nothing ambiguous about the emphasis or interpretation of the right-wingers who will be campaigning in his behalf. In selecting one of the authors of the Mundt-Nixon bill as his running-mate, the General seems to have underscored his desire to appease the reactionaries of the party. If he remains the captive of these forces, he will find it difficult to attract the independent votes which he must have to win.

A GREAT chasm now yawns before the Democrats. When Eisenhower failed to touch off an enthusiastic response on his return from Europe, the spirits of the Democratic hopefuls began to pick up. Governor Stevenson, the odds-on favorite, began to talk as though he would yield to a draft and even implied that he was not afraid to take on the General. But there was no reason why the American people should have given the General a feverishly enthusiastic reception. Their attitude was friendly but cautious; they were listening, but they wanted to hear more. Now the campaign itself will generate the interest that was lacking in the primaries, in none of which Eisenhower figured personally as a candidate. There can be no doubt that the General is a popular figure; that he can attract independent votes; that he has a sizable Democratic following, particularly in the South. The Republicans may repeat their mistakes of 1948, but as the *Wall Street Journal* points out, there is this year "an awareness of the difficulties" that did not exist then. This year, too, some highly important new factors may be decisive: the corruption issue, the political revolution that has started in the South, the impact of Korea, and other issues. The fact that so many independent voters have already switched their registration from the Democratic to the Republican Party in such states as California and Minnesota indicates the importance of these new factors. There can be little doubt that the Republicans have selected a candidate who can win despite a bad platform; whether he does win, however, largely depends on what the Democrats do.

To defeat him the Democrats must adopt a platform that the people—not the interests—want. By way of suggesting that plenty of good planks exist, we have put together a rough-draft people's platform in this issue. It is in the direction in which this platform points that the Democrats must turn if they are to overcome the handicap they now face.

BUT a model platform will not alone save the Democrats. The same behind-the-scenes forces that supported General Eisenhower would also like to name the Democratic candidate, thereby minimizing the risks if not the expense of the campaign. Just as these forces are so powerful that they could cynically regard the Republican platform as a scrap of paper once their candidate was chosen, so they can afford to acquiesce in a letter-perfect liberal platform, on domestic issues at least, if the Democrats will select one of their nominees. Thus the Democrats need more than a good platform: they need a candidate of the people, for the people.

Unfortunately the nomination of General Eisenhower has considerably narrowed the range of choice. It is now unlikely that either Governor Stevenson or President Truman would accept a draft. By selecting Senator Nixon as their candidate for Vice-President, the Eisenhower forces have obviously sought to remove Governor Stevenson as a possible Democratic nominee. This is their way of saying to him: the General is a nice man and probably would not mention the Hiss case, but Nixon is neither nice nor reticent. The effect of Eisenhower's nomination, therefore, is to improve the chances of Averell Harriman. But a campaign between Harriman, running on a model liberal platform on domestic issues, against Eisenhower, running on a Dulles-Taft-MacArthur platform, would still be a campaign in name only, since both men are identified with much the same set of financial and industrial interests and see eye to eye on foreign policy. For Democratic delegates, therefore, the test should be, not how eloquent a candidate can afford to be on civil rights, but rather: whose candidate is he? who stands behind him? who pulls the strings? The Democrats must nominate a man devoted to the people, not to the interests.

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A Liberal Platform for the Democrats

AMERICAN liberals hoped for little from the Republican convention and got less. The question now is whether the Democrats will do significantly better.

Since the days of Woodrow Wilson—and more particularly since the advent of the New Deal—American liberals have found the Democrats the more congenial of the two major parties. But this alliance could turn into a *mésalliance* at the drop, so to speak, of an F. E. P. C. It is up to the Democrats. At stake for them are the votes which have kept them in power since 1932—the votes of the millions of independents, including labor and minority groups and liberals of all sorts, who habitually look at issues before they go to the polls.

We believe the only way the Democrats can hold these voters is with a militant platform which makes plain the basic issues now confronting the country and which continues the New Deal tradition. Such a platform we now present in the form of a collection of planks, most of them condensations or summaries of statements originally prepared by organizations with interests in a special field. No organization can be held responsible for anything in the platform except the specific planks ascribed to it.

From the mass of material made available to us, we chose those planks which in our judgment made their point most forcefully and succinctly and which helped to build the kind of militantly liberal, comprehensive platform for which we were aiming. This does not mean that we consider the result perfect or complete. Because we wanted the platform to be as representative as possible, we have written into it only one proposal of our own, dealing with foreign policy. To those organizations and individuals who submitted material to us, and who are here represented by only a small fraction of their work, or by none at all, we herewith extend our thanks—and, where necessary, our apologies.

We believe this platform is of real significance precisely because the great bulk of it represents the collective thinking of representative organizations, many of them with a mass following. Here is no compilation of ivory-tower commentaries; here, in large measure, is what is wanted by the people who have the power to make or break the Democratic Party in November.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Basic Foreign Policy

In the United States we have accepted the principle that men can resolve their differences by means of free discussion, understanding, honorable compromise. We believe that the same principles could apply in relations among nations.

Only in a world in which every human being can live in peace, and can think and act with the dignity which befits a man, is it possible for any of us in our individual lives to have security from the threat of domination by the state, from the compulsion of military service, or from the destruction of atomic bombardment. Cooperation with all men everywhere in the achievement of such a world constitutes our highest ultimate objective in international affairs.—AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

Our present foreign policy consists 90 per cent of rearmament and 10 per cent of creative effort toward building the peace. The purpose of rearmament is to create sufficient military strength to make Soviet aggression unattractive and thus to build "situations of strength." From this it follows that we must be willing to negotiate when these "situations of strength" have been created. Our present policy tends to become one of seeking preponderance of strength in order to negotiate by ultimatum. This is the road to war.—ADAPTED FROM A STATEMENT BY JAMES P. WARBURG, FINANCIER AND POLITICAL WRITER.

United Nations

We pledge continuing support of the United Nations. We believe that our obligations under the Charter should be the heart of our foreign policy.

While military strength may act as a temporary deterrent to aggression, it cannot provide the bedrock of lasting peace. Only a strong and effective security system rooted in the United Nations can free all peoples of the crushing burden of national armaments. We advocate the unremitting pursuit of a universal system of limitation of all armaments, with enforceable methods of inspection and control.

To strengthen peace, we advocate the creation of United Nations armed forces, the fullest implementation of those measures which place increasing power in the hands of the General Assembly, a strong United Nations human-rights program, and an expansion of the technical-assistance program channeled primarily through the United Nations.

This statement is indorsed by the following organizations: AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS; AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; AMVETS; CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; JEWISH WAR VETERANS; NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN; UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS; AND THIRTEEN OTHERS.

Atomic-Energy Control

Most scientists and a large segment of the population are concerned that all possible steps may not have been taken to avert the threat of atomic destruction. For this purpose there is needed a high-level national commission to formulate possible control schemes, considering atomic weapons in relation to others and, where necessary, to the problems of diplomacy. Needed also is careful attention to the question of constructive utilization of atomic energy, particularly the possibilities for power development.—ADAPTED FROM A PROPOSAL BY THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS.

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Far East

Our policy in Asia has failed to lead us to the real objectives of the American people because its preoccupation with strategy and ideology has prevented our giving weight to the economic, social, and political realities of Asia.—AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

One of these realities is Communist China. In common with many of the responsible political leaders of Britain, India, and other countries, we believe that Communist China should be granted membership in the United Nations and that diplomatic and commercial relations with it should be normalized as soon as a Korean truce is established. We believe that mere publication of such intent would promote an early and successful outcome of the Korean truce talks and lay the groundwork for permanent peace not only in Korea but throughout the Far East.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Colonialism

We have allowed expediency to take precedence over human rights and freedoms in conflicts between subject peoples and strong or colonial powers. We urge the granting of economic aid free of political implications and full support to subject peoples striving for their independence and for freedom from the exploitation of their natural resources by intrenched or colonial powers.—WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, U. S. SECTION.

Germany

We consider the proposed rearmament of Germany as provided in the West German contractual agreement a threat to world peace.

We believe that the principle of compromise may be the means of finding the solution to the German problem and lessening the tensions between East and West. We therefore urge that a four-power conference be convened to explore all possible ways in which a united, free, and demilitarized Germany can be made a reality as a first step to world disarmament.—WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, U. S. SECTION.

Israel and the Middle East

We pledge continued support to the state of Israel to enable it to carry out its historic and humanitarian undertaking to provide sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution and to strengthen its economy and improve its means of defense as part of the defense of the free world against aggression.

We urge Israel and the Arab states to enter into direct negotiations for the achievement of permanent peace in the Middle East. We express our deep sympathy with the unhappy plight of the Palestine-Arab refugees and pledge continued support of measures to facilitate their permanent resettlement in the Arab countries.

We sympathize with the aspirations of the Arab peoples of the Middle East for political and economic independence, consistent with international responsibility and the policy of good neighbors, and we will support measures for the promotion of peace and economic stability and development in the whole region.—AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL.

Civil Liberties

The preservation and enlargement of civil liberties, the core of the "rule of law" which is the heart of democracy, require the faithful observance of the fundamental constitutional principle that our government is one of delegated, enumerated, and limited powers. This involves clear repudiation of the doctrine that the executive branch has even for emergency purposes any "inherent" or "residual" powers beyond those expressly granted or reasonably implied in the Constitution.

The growing complexity of society and government implies the necessity of legislative and administrative hearings. But if American citizens are to have due process in this new and rapidly expanding area of government by hearing, then Congress and the executive departments must adopt fair rules of procedure equivalent to judicial due process.

We believe that the Federal Communications Act should be amended to make clear the Congressional intent that wiretapping, except in the interest of national security, should not be practiced by federal or state officers.

There is a dire need for legislative specification of standards, as well as provision for hearing and review, in the issuance and denial of passports.

The present all-inclusive loyalty program should be eliminated because the slight gains which it achieves for an admirable purpose could be achieved by regular administrative provision without the present cost in money, the time of FBI agents, and certain vital intangibles—the impairment of federal employees' morale by making them fearful of exercising their citizens' rights of free speech and association, and the discouragement of outstanding personnel from taking government posts by making them fearful of unjust secret accusations.

We call attention to the Congressional investigation of radio and television now going on. We believe that "previous restraint is a form of infringement upon freedom of expression to be especially condemned."

We urge that the rights now accorded to religious conscientious objectors be accorded also to those who in good faith refuse to fight on philosophical grounds.

We urge the immediate appointment of an impartial, eminent, and qualified commission to investigate and report on all aspects of the momentous problem of maintaining both national security and individual civil liberties.

Constitutionality apart, we urge that Sections 2 and 3 of the Smith act of 1940, which make it unlawful to teach or advocate or to conspire to teach or advocate the violent overthrow of government, should be repealed on the grounds of unwisdom cited by Justices Jackson, Frankfurter, Douglas, and Black in the Supreme Court decision of June, 1951.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 as a whole should be repealed; then there should be opportunity for thorough discussion looking toward specific and separate reenactment of its valuable provisions.—AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

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Civil Rights

We pledge our party to take action on the opening day of the Eighty-third Congress in January, 1953, to induce the Senate to adopt rules that will permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin, and establishing a federal agency to enforce that prohibition.

We pledge our efforts to obtain prohibition by law of segregation in interstate transportation and the elimination of segregation by legislative or executive action in all activities of the federal government and in all areas to which federal authority extends.

We pledge enactment of federal legislation making lynching and other mob assaults on persons or property because of race, color, religion, or national origin a federal crime.

We favor the enactment of federal legislation abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote in elections of federal officials and providing punishment for interference with the right to register and vote in primary or general federal elections. We favor also the outlawing of interference, for reasons of race or color, with the right to register for or vote in primary or general state and local elections.

We pledge appropriate Congressional action to elevate the status of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to that of a full division of the department, headed by an assistant attorney general.

We pledge the establishment of a permanent United States Commission on Civil Rights to make a continuous appraisal of civil rights and to recommend action.

We pledge that immediate statehood shall be granted to Alaska and Hawaii.

We pledge immediate action by Congress granting home rule to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

The foregoing planks have been indorsed by the following organizations:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS; AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE; AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH; BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, A. F. OF L.; CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; AND SOME TWENTY OTHERS.

Immigration

We pledge ourselves to pass legislation which will bring our immigration, naturalization, and nationality policies into consonance with our democratic ideals and the American tradition of humanitarianism. Specifically (1) we condemn the national-origins quota system as at present constituted and demand its abolition as the basis for the admission of immigrants into this country, instead, individual needs, character, and capacity should be qualifications for entry. (2) We pledge ourselves to effect changes in our immigration, naturalization, and nationality laws which will insure to all immigrants, naturalized citizens, and law-abiding resident aliens the right to treatment as favorable as that received by native-born citizens, also the right to fair play, due process of law, civil liberties, and political freedom.—AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND OTHERS.

Church and State

We oppose the appointment of an ambassador to the papal head of the Roman Catholic church.

We urge the repeal of all state laws which sanction aid to church schools from the public treasury. We urge reconsideration, by appropriate constitutional means, of decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the use of tax funds for (1) providing the pupils of parochial schools with free textbooks, and (2) the transportation of pupils to parochial schools.

We oppose the passage by Congress of any law which allots to church schools any portion of a federal appropriation for education or which explicitly or implicitly permits the states to make such allotment of federal funds.

We pledge all possible aid to citizens who are seeking to resist any assault upon the principle of separation of church and state.—ADAPTED FROM A STATEMENT BY PROTESTANTS AND OTHER AMERICANS UNITED.

Education and Academic Freedom

We support federal aid to public educational institutions which do not practice segregation or discrimination.

We affirm the right of teachers to full freedom of research and publication. We affirm the right of teachers and students alike to organize freely in their own interests and to speak freely on any subject both on and off the campus. We condemn the requirement of loyalty oaths from teachers or students.

We pledge our efforts to expose and oppose those forces at present attempting to undermine public confidence in our public schools by their attacks on textbooks, curricula, personnel, and school finances, and also their attempts to introduce a political and religious orthodoxy into the school system.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Veterans

We favor home loans and educational and rehabilitation legislation as opposed to the bonus or to any general pension plan.—AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE.

Indian Affairs

By every relevant test American Indians have won the right to spend their own money, use their own lands, hire their own lawyers, set up their own organizations, choose their own representatives, and run their own businesses. All discriminatory laws and regulations interfering with these rights should be repealed without delay, in accordance with the wishes of the Indians concerned.—ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, INC.

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Labor

Experience has demonstrated that the Taft-Hartley act has impeded union organization and aggravated labor-management relations and now jeopardizes our national economy and defense effort. We therefore urge the immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley act and the enactment of a law embodying the fair and equitable principles of the Wagner act.

We condemn oppressive state anti-labor laws and increased use of injunction processes to break unions.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

We must continue to improve programs for providing an adequate supply of labor for agricultural production. Among the essential parts of such a program are a minimum wage, regulation of labor contractors, and removal of exclusions under the Social Security Act, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and the National Labor-Management Relations Act.

The Wage-Hour and Public Contracts Acts have proved their value in providing minimum fair-employment standards. The minimum wage of 75 cents an hour should be increased to $1.25 an hour; the wage-hour act's provisions should be extended to cover hired farm labor. The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act should be continued without emasculating amendments such as were attempted this year.—CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

We support the efforts of federal-government employees, whose wage scales have lagged far behind the standards of private industry, to obtain long overdue pay adjustments. Legislation assuring statutory recognition of the right of federal employees to organize should be enacted. The United States Civil Service Retirement Act should be revised to assure retired government employees annuities sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living.—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Agriculture

We seek an agriculture based on family farms, with prosperous, efficient owners, masters of themselves and of the soil they till. We seek equal opportunities in life for all our fellow-men, in this country and in other lands. Specifically, we propose to enact legislation to achieve the following: (1) 100 per cent of parity price or income support of total production of not more than the equivalent of the net income obtained from production of 5,000 bushels of wheat to any one farm; production payments direct to farmers to make up the difference between the market price and 100 per cent of parity; (2) safety reserves and other programs to make abundant agricultural production more widely and continuously available to all consumers; (3) establishment of a nation-wide system of loans and technical assistance to farmers' cooperatives; expansion of the loan and technical-assistance programs of the Farmers' Home Administration, including rural housing loans, and immediate inauguration of other programs to improve the productivity and family income of the more than two million farm families suffering from rural poverty and unemployment; immediate establishment of national fiscal and farm-credit policies and programs that will increase the availability of credit for farm production on terms adapted to family-farm operation.—JAMES C. PATTON, NATIONAL FARMERS UNION.

Cooperatives

We whole-heartedly support the continued expansion of the cooperative movement. Rural power and telephone cooperatives should be encouraged. Cooperatives should be given every possible opportunity in this mobilization period to build some of the government-financed plants; a significant share of leases on oil lands, mineral deposits, and other resources made available to the public should be reserved for bona fide cooperative groups.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Natural Resources

We favor TVA-type valley authorities. We urge favorable action on the proposals of the Hoover Commission to transfer the civil functions of the Army Engineers to a single natural-resources agency. The St. Lawrence seaway and power projects should be undertaken as quickly as possible. Publicly produced power should be publicly distributed. We oppose turning off-shore oil resources over to state governments. —AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Welfare and Social Security

A program of national health insurance with local administration and full recognition of voluntary non-profit health plans which provide adequate services. This pre-payment plan should allow free choice of physicians and guarantee continued freedom of doctors and hospitals to conduct their professional affairs as they do now.

Federal aid to insure an adequate trained force of nurses and physicians, sufficient public health units, hospitals, research into preventive medicine, etc.

Affirmation of the purposes and provisions of the Housing Act of 1949; additional legislation to provide middle-income groups access to financing of homes on a sound and reasonable basis; special legislation to meet the housing needs of defense and migratory farm workers; continuance and strengthening of rent controls wherever the need exists.

Adequate support for the "starved" Children's Bureau; prompt attention to the school-lunch program, which is now well on the way to destruction through failure of Congress to provide even the minimum funds required; federal aid to states and localities to insure at least minimum standards in preventing delinquency and caring for juvenile delinquents; federal aid to localities in providing day-care facilities for working mothers; special programs for the care and education of the children of migratory farm families; special and emergency programs providing assistance, as a matter of right and not of charity, to wives and families dependent on soldiers in active service.—PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE, BASED ON A CONFERENCE OF TWENTY-TWO EXPERTS REPRESENTING FIFTEEN NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FIELDS OF CHILD WELFARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND SOCIAL SECURITY.

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Unemployment-insurance payments should be placed on a national basis, allowing national standards to prevent unfairness and assure sufficient income for the unemployed worker and his family to live decently.—PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE (AS ABOVE).

Full and complete coverage of all Americans under the Federal Social Security Act; old-age pensions of not less than $100 per month geared to the cost of living, with free health services for men aged sixty-five and women aged sixty. Automatic provision for lowering the age of recipients when employment drops below sixty million.—CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL WELFARE.

Monopoly and Small Business

We urge vigorous enforcement of existing anti-trust statutes. We call upon Congress to determine whether new legislation is needed to curb current tendencies toward economic concentration in many new industries. We condemn all forms of vertical integration among equipment manufacturers, broadcasters, film companies, editorial services, publishers, news distributors, and so on, as restrictions of competition and deterrents to the free expression of all points of view on public issues.

The government must adopt a more aggressive program to aid small and independent businesses. A larger share of defense prime contracts and subcontracts must be channeled to small firms. The Small Defense Plants Administration should be strengthened through enforcement of a strong basic law and larger appropriations.—AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Taxation and Economic Stabilization

Provisions for split incomes and family partnerships in the income-tax law have enabled upper-bracket taxpayers to escape their just share of taxes. Continuation and in some cases extension of such inequities and loopholes as capital-gains and depletion allowances, tax-exempt state and local securities, and unreported corporate interest and dividends have further favored well-to-do taxpayers. These loopholes and inequities must be eliminated.

We are unequivocally opposed to a general sales tax, whether it be collected at the retail or manufacturing level. —AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION.

Labor is shocked by the wrecking-crew operations of the Eighty-second Congress on the Defense Production Act. We join with consumers throughout the nation in demanding an effective and comprehensive program to curb inflation, including (1) indorsement of an effective system of price controls for at least another year; (2) support for a tripartite Wage Stabilization Board with full power to deal with all types of disputes; (3) continued programs for allocation of scarce materials, fiscal policies which will check abnormal increases in bank credit, and an intensified savings-bond campaign.—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Pitfalls Ahead for Eisenhower

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Chicago

THE Republican Party enters the Presidential campaign with a popular candidate and a platform that is scarcely halfway along the road from the dinosaur age to something akin to the spirit of modern America.

Much was gained as the party struggled with its soul all last week and at last thwarted the immediate designs of the men responsible for the truly shocking number of McCarthyites put forward to state Republican doctrine in the convention speeches. More treason screamers and poison-tongued character assassins were surely never before inflicted on a convention of one of our great parties. The theme was hate, hate, hate, from the vengeful keynote address of General MacArthur through the ugly spectacle of General Hurley distorting the facts of his own career in China and McCarthy himself shouting shrill imprecations against the "traitors" in Washington.

In the end, the Eastern–West Coast alliance once again proved stronger and more durable than the combination of Midwestern and rotten-borough Southern delegates controlled by Taft. Four times straight the anti-isolationists and anti-primitives have won in Republican conventions, and this time they copper-riveted the victory by adopting new rules to weaken the relative power of the Southerners in the Republican National Committee. The job was ruthlessly planned and executed, but it had to be done.

For Eisenhower, triumphant at last in an undertaking in which he had sometimes seemed weary and half-regretful, the real battles lie ahead. He and his embittered rival, Senator Taft, have formally pledged each other their loyalty and support. This was the routine and graceful thing to do, and Taft stood up manfully in the moment of his shattering disappointment. But Taft in the last two years has been turning ever more eagerly to embrace McCarthyism, the dry rot of Republicanism, and Ike, to deserve to win in November, is going to have to repudiate McCarthy once and forever.

Ike, the "man of the hour," can give shape and vitality to a new Republicanism. But he is still painfully amateurish at the extraordinarily difficult task of manip-

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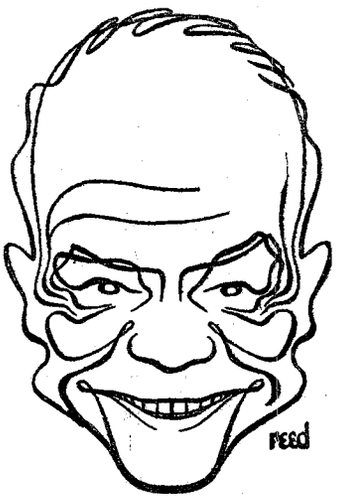
ulating the vast political instrument placed in his hands. From the time two weeks ago that he finally decided to become the creature of his managers he made wonderful progress. Free at last from pestering questions on specific issues, he turned on his considerable charm for the delegates. His managers did the rest—and superlatively brave and shrewed they proved to be. Never once did they fumble. They stuffed the Texas "steal" issue down Taft's throat.

BUT while tough, experienced managers can whip a convention into line, the candidate himself must make the appeal to the people. The pitfalls ahead are indicated in Ike's gauche and gratuitous disparagement of the French as "atheistic" and lacking the will power and morale which make a people deserving of respect. And this comment pertained to foreign policy, to NATO policy itself—the one field in which Ike might be deemed to have some expertness and some sensitivity to nuances.

There is peril for Ike in his running-mate, Senator Nixon of California. For if it is true that Nixon was selected partly because he helped "break" the Alger Hiss case—and this was reported boldly in advance by John S. Knight, publisher of the Chicago *Daily News*—it could mean that Eisenhower is preparing to use McCarthyism under some other and more respectable name.

Knight based his prediction that Nixon would be chosen on the theory that the Republicans might consider it useful to have the "Hiss-destroyer" on the ticket in case Governor Stevenson of Illinois, who gave a good-character affidavit to Hiss, should be nominated by the Democrats. Yet it may be suggested that Eisenhower would be doing a disservice both to his party and to his country were he to countenance the smearing of Stevenson, or of any other decent Democratic nominee, on this or similar grounds. He would do well to remember that in 1884 an extremist slogan backfired disastrously when a bigoted preacher branded the Democrats the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion."



Ike's problem is how to conduct a rational, affirmative Republican campaign which looks forward and not backward. He will get little help from the platform. The foreign-policy plank, which indorses "collective security," he can presumably live with. But what will he do with the platform's evasions of the facts of life on dozens of domestic issues? Down, says the platform, with national health insurance. Down with federal aid to education, even though Senator Taft himself voted for it in the Eighty-first Congress. The rights of organized labor? Ike is stuck with Taft-Hartley, a law hated by the unions and so complicated that the platform itself misconstrues one section in citing the allegedly valuable "rights" guaranteed by the act to what the platform authors call the "working men."

The platform throws the consumer back to the wolves of the unrestricted competitive system. Rent controls? "We will oppose federal rent control except in those areas where the expansion of defense production has been accompanied by critical housing shortages." Price controls? "We believe in combating inflation by encouraging full production of goods and food and not through a program of restrictions." But the platform does not say what is to happen to prices as long as rearmament schedules make full civilian production impossible.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is still an "all-powerful federal socialistic" enterprise; the authors of the platform clearly prefer Missouri floods to Washington "socialism." And as for who shall get the profits from tidal oil, the people or private corporations, the platform is unequivocal: "We favor restoration to the states of their rights to all lands and resources beneath navigable inland and offshore waters within their historic boundaries."

The Republican civil-rights plank of 1948 declared that "equality of employment" was a "right" and promised "enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation" as might be needed "to maintain this right in every part of the Republic." (In 1944, of course, the Republicans had flatly advocated an

Lincoln on F. E. P. C.

What the Republican Party thinks about civil rights and F. E. P. C., the country knows. To the Democrats we commend a few lines by a man whose name was too often taken in vain at Chicago last week—the original "Mr. Republican." In an unfinished letter to Charles D. Robinson, dated August 17, 1864, from the White House, Abraham Lincoln wrote:

> Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming, administration can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we cannot longer maintain the contest. The party which could elect a President on a War and Slavery Restoration platform would, of necessity, lose the colored force; and, that force being lost, would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing.

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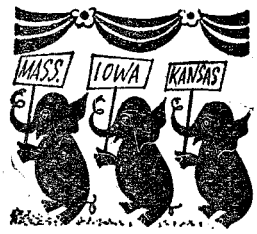
F. E. P. C.) But this year a fighting Southern minority forced further dilution of the weak 1948 language, despite the battle put up by a coalition of Northern and Western Republicans who wanted an F. E. P. C. with power to hold public hearings, subpoena witnesses and records, and secure fair hiring practices with "everything short of fines and jail." The Southerners claimed that public hearings would "destroy" employers who were hailed before the commission. They rejected a compromise which would have confined federal action to states without "adequate" local laws, confessing, in effect, that such a procedure would put the Southern states on the spot.

The plank as finally presented to the convention merely advocates federal laws to "further" fair treatment of minorities in the field of employment. The convention managers, even including Senator Ives of New York, who faces a reelection battle, wanted no trouble from the floor on the issue. They persuaded Harold E. Burton, a New York lawyer, to announce that he had discussed the plank with other Negro delegates and he and they were satisfied that it does "authorize" an F. E. P. C.

A word must be said about the frustration and rage of the Taftites. On the night of the nominating speeches, when it must already have been clear to them that they faced defeat, they issued a full-newspaper-size broadcast carrying in enormous letters the headline "Sink Dewey!" The broadcast charged that Dewey, symbol of the "same old gang of Eastern internationalists and Republican New Dealers," had "called the shots" and "pulled the strings" for Ike and was the candidate "in everything but name." The New York governor was described as the "most cold-blooded, ruthless, selfish political boss" in the country, and until he was crushed, Taft headquarters said, the G. O. P. could never win and "America can never be made safe from the insidious efforts of the New Dealers, whatever their party label, to take us down the road to socialism and dictatorship."



Eighteen hours later Taft and Eisenhower were engaging to work together for the election of the candidate the Taftites had charged was nothing more than a stupid stooge.

A Formula for Germany

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN THEIR note to Russia of July 10 the Western powers accept, if with limitations and evasions, the principle of negotiation. To evaluate it correctly it must be placed in the sequence of exchanges which preceded it. The first Russian note, on March 10 last, proposed a Big Four conference to settle the German question on the basis of free elections, a central government for a united country, and an autonomous Germany army. The West's reply, sent on March 25, was inspired by Washington's conviction that it is a "waste of time to talk with the Russians"; it was in substance a rejection. On April 9 Moscow presented a second note, asking that a commission of the four occupying powers be created to look into the possibility of free elections in Germany. The Allies countered by demanding that the investigation be conducted by the United Nations, though this condition had been formally turned down by Russia in the last U. N. Assembly at Paris. The Soviet reply was received twelve days later when the Western ministers were occupied with the signing of the contractual agreement at Bonn. Its principal aim was to challenge the validity of the German contract. Naturally, the Allies took their time before answering.

The latest note was dispatched only after many days of consultation among the Western governments. The fear of war was growing in the capitals of Europe. The signing of the European-defense treaty and the German contract had created general uneasiness. This was reflected in the speeches of Winston Churchill and of his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler—which, without referring directly to the question of negotiations with Russia, depicted Britain's disastrous economic position—in the appeal of President Auriol of France and of the Belgian Prime Minister. Other signs of mounting anxiety were the changed stand of the British Labor leaders, with Mr. Attlee now joining the Bevanites in the demand for a four-power conference, the strong opposition to German rearmament voiced at the recent congress of the French Socialist Party, and the impetus given to the "neutralist" movement throughout Europe.

When Secretary Acheson went to Europe two weeks ago he was subjected to stronger pressure than had been brought to bear on American policy-makers for several years. From every side he was exhorted to accept four-power talks. Mr. Acheson rejected the French demand for a conference of the Foreign Ministers on the ground

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that the American elections made that impossible, but accepted a compromise proposal for a preliminary, "exploratory" meeting of officials of lower rank. This formed the basis of the new Allied note, which thus represents a formal concession on the part of the United States. It is to be hoped that the Russians will take advantage of the opportunity offered them by the delay in the ratification of the European-army and German-contract treaties and renew their proposals. Events of the last few days confirm my earlier prediction that the French may wait as much as six months before ratifying and that German ratification is meeting stiff opposition; on Wednesday of last week, for example, Carlo Schmid, the Socialist leader, delivered an extremely effective speech against it.

IF FUTURE developments reinforce the British-French stand and if the Kremlin proceeds intelligently in the new situation, it is very possible that a four-power conference on some level will be called either in September or just after the Presidential elections. The capital question will then arise: Is there really any solution of the German problem on which East and West can agree? Various interesting suggestions have been put forward privately. A high French official, for example, outlined to me the following plan, which will certainly come up for consideration in any serious discussion. Germany would be unified under a central authority with genuine sovereignty but not a real army; its neutrality would be assured by an agreement among the four powers and Germany, this agreement to be incorporated in the peace treaty. Occupation zones would be established on the frontiers, that on the east to be policed by the Russians and that on the west by the Allies. This arrangement, my informant believed, would provide security against both German military resurgence and the danger that all Germany might come under Russian control.

The author of the plan is convinced that the European members of NATO—the governments, not the military strategists—would be inclined to accept it, as well as Germany and Russia. France's reasons for welcoming a solution along these lines are too obvious to need emphasis here. As for Germany, the Chancellor's views must be distinguished from those of the people's elected representatives. For Dr. Adenauer, as for Louis XIV, *l'état c'est moi.* He not only shows no respect for the aims of the Socialist opposition but stifles or ignores every sign of independent thinking in his own party. But outside Dr. Adenauer's narrow circle there is a steadily growing neutralist group which, in the opinion of the French official I have quoted, would accept this plan or some modification of it. West Germany longs above all else to be freed of the fear that a death struggle between East and West will take place on its soil.

Within Germany the basic idea embodied in the French official's plan have long been supported by the Schumacher Social Democrats, the "neutralists" of the "Circle of Nauheim," and by Heinemann and the other dissidents of the old Adenauer team. And now a Liberal deputy, Herr Pfeiderer, has dropped a somewhat similar proposal into the Bonn Parliament. Before Germany can be unified, he says, Russian occupation forces must be withdrawn behind the Oder and Western troops to the left bank of the Rhine. This, he maintains, is the only way to reestablish the equilibrium of the two blocs. Once unified, Germany should be allowed a small army which in the event of aggression would fight on the side of the country's defenders. Powerful newspapers like the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* have come out in favor of Herr Pfeiderer's important suggestion.

The French author of the German neutrality plan is also confident that Russia would consider such a solution. In fact, he thinks the Soviet proposal that Germany be permitted to have a national army subject to no political conditions, with officers of its own choosing, was a last-ditch effort to separate West Germany from the West and thus block the plans for its massive rearmament. It did not mean that Moscow felt easy about a rearmed German state.

There remains the United States. Once the emotions whipped up by the elections have subsided, my French informant believes, the new President, whoever he is, will have to consider Europe's state of mind, and Europe, he says, "is determined that all possibilities of agreement must be explored and exhausted before it accepts the necessity of preparing to fight."

Europeans in increasing numbers are urging the diplomats to stop quarreling and start negotiating. They especially condemn the aggressive attitude of John Foster Dulles, who counsels isolating and destroying the enemy. The advocates of negotiation are found in both the conservative and the liberal camp, while among Socialists and workers there is a perceptible tendency to feel that the chief danger of war comes from American rather than from Russian policy. If a diehard Washington rejects a viable formula for solving the German problem, it will meet the resentful opposition of this great mass of opinion.

Sometimes people complain that analyses of the German problem always produce negative conclusions; what is needed, they say, are constructive ideas. But surely nothing could be more constructive than the demand for a four-power conference. Only in such a conference can the various formulas suggested above be discussed, modified, and completed. The first thing to be done, if a solution other than by arms is the goal, is to defeat the effort to keep Germany divided indefinitely. Germany must either be united, with proper precautions against its making another attempt to dominate Europe, or remain the incubator of World War III, one part armed by the

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West, the other by the East, aggressive Nazi elements put into uniform, the old Prussian military spirit revived.

It would be pedantic and foolish to insist that detailed plans for solving the German problem must be worked out in advance. The Russian note of March 10, which started the whole discussion, said that the Soviet government was willing to "examine any other plan" and to consider the views of the German government. The important thing is for the Big Four to meet and discuss concrete points. Russia must be prepared to make the further concessions required by the immense importance of the issue. The United States must adopt a different approach from that of its May 13 note, in which it asserted flatly that the rearmament of West Germany and its inclusion in the Atlantic system were "the only road really leading to peace." And Dr. Adenauer must not repeat the provocative statement he made to his party at Fribourg, that raising German divisions for the European army was the best way to recover the lost eastern provinces. Peace must be the subject of the conference, not war.

Who's Revolutionary in Mexico?

BY MERRILL RIPPY

Mexico, D. F.

FOR the first time since 1940 a Mexican Presidential election has taken place in the same year as a United States Presidential election. In 1940 Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Henry Wallace were nominated by a liberal Democratic Party, and Avila Camacho by the Party of the Mexican Revolution, which was led by Lázaro Cárdenas, a vigorous radical. When there was danger that Camacho would be deprived of his victory by a rightist coup, Mr. Wallace was sent here to represent the White House at the inaugural ceremonies. This year the Mexican election passed relatively unnoticed in the United States.

The voting, which took place on July 6, was generally acclaimed as the most orderly since 1910, though the campaign generated so much heat that all secondary schools in the Federal District, as well as the National University, were closed for the final two weeks. No one challenged the free exercise of the suffrage of some 5,000,000 Mexicans, but three of the four major candidates have challenged the announced result—the victory of Ruiz Cortines, the government-party candidate. Lombardo Toledano, candidate of the Popular Party, and Miguel Henriquez Guzmán, candidate of the Federation of the Parties of the Mexican People, dispute the count; Gonzalez Luna, choice of a Catholic Action party, has protested that the elections were conducted in "arbitrary" fashion by the government party.

Such challenges are not unusual and are generally handled in routine fashion by the Federal Electoral Commission in the period between the elections in July and the inauguration in December. Sometimes, however—as in 1940 and 1946—the point is pressed with violence. This year the followers of Guzmán have already engaged in one post-election outbreak. Whether or not further violence occurs, it is noteworthy that this year, for the first time in Mexican history, four well-organized parties actively participated in a Presidential race and anti-government campaigning was widespread and vigorous.

The "official" or government party has frequently changed its name since 1910 but has always retained the word "revolutionary." This year the Party of the Mexican Revolution became the Party of the Revolutionary Institution (P. R. I.)—a significant change. Indeed, the P. R. I. and its candidate, Ruiz Cortines, were attacked for representing *continuismo,* the perpetuation of a senescent group no longer revolutionary.

During the campaign the name of Ruiz Cortines was emblazoned all over Mexico—on mountain sides in giant letters marked out in white stones, on building tops in neon lights, and on placards attached to trees, lamp-posts, and walls. As the government party, the P. R. I. could even put up posters on public property. In campaigning, its speakers laid chief emphasis on the progress already achieved and promised for the future through a continuing program of highway building, railroad modernization, hydroelectric development, school building, and other capital investments. This emphasis lent some color to charges that the P. R. I. was the party of the two hundred new Mexican millionaires. Only in the last weeks of the campaign did it begin an active drive to win over the farm workers, as if it had just remembered that the vast majority of Mexicans were peasants.

Two groups which in 1940 and 1946 either supported the P. R. I. or were quiescent emerged this year as two new parties in active opposition. These were Lombardo's Popular Party and Henriquez Guzmán's federation group. Henriquez, incidentally, was the only general

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running for President in the election, another phenomenon worth marking.

The Popular Party was said to be a Communist front, although Lombardo has never been an avowed Communist. Anti-Communist groups used against him the kind of smear technique now familiar in the United States. His pictures were frequently pasted over with placards which asked in bold letters, "Russia or Mexico? Your vote will decide!" (Oddly enough, the same placards were used to cover Ruiz Cortines's face.) The fact is that the Communists' alliance with Lombardo was at best uneasy; at the final pre-election rally of the Popular Party no Communist was permitted to speak.

In addition to some workers' support, Lombardo had the backing of the left-wing artists Diego Rivera and Siqueiros, and of a high percentage of Mexican intellectuals. The Lombardistas also claimed the support of Cárdenas, elder statesman of the Mexican Revolution. They asserted that when Ruiz Cortines visited Michoacan, Cárdenas's home state, the ex-President was not at home; that when Henriquez Guzmán campaigned there, Cárdenas was also not at home; but that when Lombardo spoke in Uruapan, Cárdenas invited him to breakfast.

HENRIQUEZ GUZMÁN, a general from Coahuila —which is somewhat analogous to being from Texas in the United States—was the opponent against whom the P. R. I. directed most of its fire in the last days of the campaign. His appeal was to the strongly nationalist, "authentic" revolutionaries, for whose benefit he stressed his agrarianism. His long friendship with Cárdenas certainly did not hurt his candidacy in certain quarters, even though a liking for old-style *caudillismo* was implied in his campaign. Three of his chief supporters were members of the former Cárdenas government. According to spokesmen for the Popular Party, the principal plank in the Henriquez platform was in fact Cárdenas, but Cárdenas made no open gesture of support.

Henriquez strongly attacked the P. R. I., accusing the party of banditry. According to Henriquez's spokesmen, President Alemán's wife and mother had acquired tremendous wealth through bean and rice monopolies, and his nineteen-year-old son had a fortune of more than a hundred million pesos. Half of the money lent to Mexico by the United States has gone into the pockets of corrupt officialdom, Henriquez's aides charged. They accused Ruiz Cortines of being a traitor, alleging that he had cooperated with the American forces in the occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914 and implying that he would betray Mexico to the Yankees again in 1952.

Oddly enough, part of Henriquez's support came from Los Dorados, the semi-fascist group that in 1938-40 helped foment rebellion against Cárdenas and the oil expropriation. His followers expected some Communist support from rural school teachers, because his agricultural program was stronger than Lombardo's. The rest of Henriquez's organized support, according to his headquarters, came from small business men, small industrialists, and the army below the rank of colonel.

Since the voting Henriquez's supporters have been talking tough, insisting that their man would be the next President no matter whom the government declared the official winner. They say and the implied threat has not been lost—that Alemán can be pressured into recognizing the election of Henriquez if for no other reason than to keep internal peace and so earn the Nobel peace prize, which he covets.

Ruiz Cortines

The seemingly best-financed candidate was Gonzalez Luna, put up by the Party of National Action (P. A. N.). That PAN also means bread in Spanish was a useful coincidence for Gonzalez Luna. Bread and social justice were his two slogans. The banner of social justice is raised by Catholic Action parties the world over, and Gonzalez Luna was strongly supported by the Union Nacional Sinarquista, a party which in 1940 was semi-secret, semi-fascist, and fanatically Catholic.

While there was never any doubt that Ruiz Cortines would be elected, the campaign indicated a deep division of political opinion in the country, even among the professional revolutionary groups which have controlled Mexico since 1920. Certainly the old agrarian revolutionary impulse is not dead. The constant use by the opposition of Cárdenas's name and the reference to him as the "greatest Mexican" indicate the wide appeal of Cardenismo even today. And Cardenismo means, according to both the Lombardistas and the Henriquistas, strict enforcement of the constitution of 1917, which is one of the most radical political documents in existence, providing for strong labor organizations, nationalization of land, and strictly controlled capitalism.

As a close and very important neighbor, Mexico and its politics are of vital importance to the United States in the present world crisis, and Americans should note carefully that three of the four major parties in the Presidential race were openly campaigning on anti-Yankee platforms. It has been a long time since anti-Americanism was politically expedient in Mexico, and the fact reveals something about the United States as well as about Mexico.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Our Asian Policy?

JOURNEY TO THE FAR PACIFIC. By Thomas E. Dewey. Doubleday and Company. $4.

IN THE summer of 1951 Governor Dewey made a two months' trip to the Far East. He traveled 41,000 miles, visited seventeen different countries, and talked to hundreds of individuals—American diplomats and reporters, E. C. A. officials, local officials, colonial administrators, and business men. He also made a great point of talking to peasants whenever he could, as one farmer to another.

His report is not fresh or profound but it is important, since it embodies our Far Eastern policy during the predictable future, no matter who wins in November. For our Asia policy is already being written by Republicans—largely by John Foster Dulles, who is very close to Dewey. The Dulles-Dewey Republicans would be able to check the adventurism of MacArthur's followers, much as the conservative Democrats have been able to thwart the kind of forward-looking Asia policy advocated by Justice Douglas.

There is much in East Asia that Dewey does not understand, much that is obscure on which he has brash, ready-made opinions, and much on which he is evasive. Yet the surprising thing about the views Dewey derives in part from a junket, in part from the political formalism that incrusts the mind of any active politician, and in part from a determination to subordinate American interests in Asia to the cold war—the surprising thing is how sound they are.

For Dewey says again and again that we must not seek to make Asia over in our own image. He knows colonialism and imperialism must end. He respects the old, polished, sophisticated, and often superior cultures of the Orient. He admits that democracy is only a word, and that we had better not tamper with the Asian's way of doing most things in business and in politics. He sees that a little squeeze and a little smuggling in business, a little witches' brew in medicine, and even a little night-soil in agriculture are necessary, and in fact are regulated by properties or by nature's own antibodies. He even notes "the ugly damage done to our diplomatic service by unfounded or ignorant criticism at home."

Good. But on many things he is superficial or misled. He does not know whether what he saw was normal or a Potemkin village put up for his benefit. He writes about Buddhism and Shintoism but misses the fact that they are almost completely non-dogmatic and not even mutually exclusive. He excuses the low wages of Japanese factory girls because they are housed in comfortable dormitories and taught flower arrangement. He sees no virtue in the contention of a Japanese business man that free competition squanders too much precious raw materials in a country desperately short of them. He complains of the absence of American culture, overlooking the great influence of American movies. He admires Yoshida unreservedly, and he brushes aside Japan's massive neutralism with the marvelous understatement that there is little sentiment for rearmament.

He thinks that masses of former Chinese Nationalists are fighting in Korea against their will but soon remarks that "the enemy rarely gives up." But then, the military mind, which Dewey here reflects, has never been notably acute in analyzing why men fight. He does report one opinion not often voiced here: that Russia supports a limited and inconclusive war in Korea partly to test our new arms. This would accord with past Soviet practice.

The Formosa chapter is fascinating. Dewey reports being told that "the Chinese Communists are leading the fight for Asia for the Asians . . . so they have the popular side"; that the people see us allied with their oppressors in Europe; and that the only effective American policy is to advocate "China for the Chinese, Indo-China for the Indo-Chinese, Japan for the Japanese." In commenting on the defeat of Chiang on the mainland he speaks of the Nationalists as "war-weary" and of the Reds as "fresh," thus brushing aside with two adjectives the difficult and obscure question of the role of each in opposing the Japanese. He considers the complex question of the disposal of Japanese arms in Manchuria and North China in 1945 a betrayal of Chiang by Stalin; yet we were frequently obliged to let the *maquis*, regardless of political affiliations, retain arms they had seized. Dewey honestly reports the unbelievable corruption and cruelty of the Chinese administration of Formosa after the war but gives it a clean bill of health now. He is much impressed by Chiang's loyalty to us in not making a separate peace with the Japanese, but does he know whether Chiang, had he made such a move, would have survived another and more wrathful Sian? If, as Renan said, "the truth lies in nuances," then this, like much in Dewey's book, is untrue.

Dewey quotes Chiang at great length and then says, "I couldn't refute the Generalissimo's argument because so much of it was true." How much is so much? The argument contained flagrant misstatements that Dewey thus manages to leave slickly unrefuted. For all of Dewey's lip service to the principle of Chinese solutions to Chinese problems, he never faces the crucial question of the Reds versus the Nationalists in Chinese terms. In the end he falls back on unprincipled arguments of military expediency, insisting with MacArthur that Formosa is vital to our defensive "line," even though Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines form the line, and Formosa is an exposed, westward-jutting salient. When will the military mind not seek to add an island or a continent to its defense requirements?

I have said that this book clearly foreshadows our Asia policy. When Dewey concludes that "even if Nationalist China were as bad as its enemies paint it, I would favor supporting it as one of the forces necessary to keep the Communists from overrunning the whole Pacific," he shows that that policy is to be exclusively one of military opportunism. It might work in the short run, but it will turn a billion Asians into permanent enemies.

Dewey continued his trip through the

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Philippines, Hongkong, Indo-China, Malaya, and Indonesia, but the pattern of his observations and conclusions changes little. One is left to gloomy speculations regarding the value of the trip, and more, regarding the isolation of the political mind. The concept of One World, and attempts to honor one's responsibilities toward it, are all very well, but the world itself remains intractably diverse and varied. Experts find the truth about Asia complex, strenuous, and obscure, but no politician can trade in obscurities. He cannot, even by interviewing farmers and other humble people, break out of the prison of political formalism. He cannot know if the peasants tell him what they really believe. As the area with which he attempts to deal becomes larger and larger, he moves increasingly away from reality. This is a problem not for Dewey alone but for all political leaders; it will be a problem as long as vast power structures exist.

James Aldridge has dealt brilliantly with the isolation of the political leader on a foreign mission in his novel, "The Diplomat." I commend it to Governor Dewey; it will make him a wiser man even if a less certain politician.

HAROLD STRAUSS

Governor Stevenson

ADLAI E. STEVENSON OF ILLINOIS. By Noel F. Busch. Farrar, Strauss, and Young. $3.75.

GOVERNOR STEVENSON is fortunate in his biographer. Noel F. Busch has written a hasty but surprisingly detailed and fresh profile, both witty and low-keyed and far superior to the stodgy "official" biography with which most candidates are ignobly endowed. In the main it is the story of the "dazzling sprint" from January to April by which Stevenson emerged from "comparative obscurity to sure winner in the Democratic Party sweepstakes," after which he "obligingly jogged off the track" to let his competitors continue running. But even Busch does not believe that this is the real story. His book ends with the strong suggestion that if the Democratic convention has any sense Stevenson will be the nominee. The book presents texts of speeches, interviews, messages, and articles by the Governor that are of only secondary interest nationally unless Stevenson is a candidate.

Adlai Stevenson may be "comparatively obscure," and some of the politicians may consider him nationally "unknown," but he comes from a distinguished family of American politicians and public servants, and he is very clearly a man of stature. He may not be "easily the best all-around political orator to appear on the United States scene since F. D. R.," as Busch thinks, but he has Roosevelt's capacity to express genuine thoughts in simple words. He is not equipped to comment on every national issue—his understanding of the

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Taft-Hartley act seems incomplete—but many issues he obviously has pondered deeply, and his attitudes on them are in the best traditions of the Democratic Party.

His 1951 foreign-affairs speech at Northwestern University was a masterly analysis of the sudden rise to world power of the United States and the Soviet Union—he has sense enough to recognize geopolitical facts instead of trying to rewrite history to blame some American super-devil for Soviet imperialism—and at the same time an appeal to people to use their minds, to realize the struggle we face:

> In fatuous haste to be shut of war, worry, and expense, we obliterate our power and leave it to the United Nations to keep a peace that never existed. When things go right we gush paeans of praise for the United Nations; when they go wrong we damn it and even propose to forsake the good because it is not perfect . . . [the] self-hypnosis of loud and repeated talk about our righteousness and freedom will rally no allies nor blow the Kremlin walls down.
>
> Have we learned that hunting scapegoats is not a foreign policy?
>
> Have we learned that our mission is the prevention, not just the survival, of a major war? Have we discovered that there are no Gibraltars, no fortresses impregnable to death or ideas, any more?

Busch seems to give too much credit to the magazine *Time* as playing a substantial part in Stevenson's emergence from "relative obscurity." Stevenson has been a brilliant Governor of Illinois, knows how to get things done even through a hostile legislature, has shown talents for persuasion and compromise, is a subtle practitioner of the arts of democratic government, and has shown honor and courage in vetoing bills to lash "subversives" and curry favor with the real-estate lobby. These talents may have been unknown to the public but scarcely to the Democratic high command. If Harry S. Truman chose not to run himself, where would he originally look for a successor except to a really outstanding Democratic governor, with all the correct antecedents and proved skill as a campaigner? If Stevenson had not existed, he would have had to be invented.

One point Busch does not wholly illuminate. Why was Stevenson so reluctant to cooperate in a draft? Was it because, as rumored with some degree of authority, he privately felt that twenty years in power was long enough for a single party and that anyway, if Eisenhower was selected by the Republicans, our foreign policy was safe? If so, the myopia, one can hope, was transitory. There are answers to these questions that deserve to be debated in the campaign by someone who believes that domestic policy is very important, indeed by someone who feels deeply that the Congressional investigations turning up petty thieves, Communists or alleged Communists, homosexuals, and defenseless victims of witch hunts, and lumping them indiscriminately as evidence of "corruption" in Washington, is the most evil corruption of the past two years. It is an intellectual and political corruption so pervasive that it has tainted out national life, and no Democratic nominee or potential nominee can in decency fail to lash it hip and thigh.

If Governor Stevenson makes the grade next week, Mr. Busch's admirable volume will be required reading for a great many people, and new editions can eliminate the minor factual and typographical errors which, considering the circumstances, are *few enough*.

WILLARD SHELTON

Master of the Terrible

A BACHELOR'S ESTABLISHMENT. By Honoré de Balzac. Translated by Eithne Wilkins. Farrar, Strauss, and Young. $3.50.

THIS new translation of "La Rabouilleuse" (1842) abounds in those *splendeurs et misères* Balzac created so well. It also employs the same specious explanations of human behavior that mar even so fine a novel as "Cousin Bette."

Balzac's effects are contrived out of innumerable details scrupulously "worked up" and modified by no light and shade. Yet this careful record of daily life in Paris and in a provincial town during the reign of Louis XVIII convinces us, as Balzac almost always does convince, that things were exactly as he says they were and that events fell out exactly as he says they did. He had a feeling for externals, for surfaces glittering or dingy or merely commonplace, beneath which, if we cannot discern the lineaments of a human soul,

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we can see clearly the intricate workings of a whole society. The Paris in which the brothers Bridau lead their so different lives and the provincial town in which they attempt to outwit the vultures who are despoiling the family fortune do come into an exciting and excited life.

But the central characters are so monstrously evil and cruel in their pursuit of money and social position—Balzac's favorite "subject"—and their motives are so oversimplified that it is often impossible to think of them as real despite the reality encompassing them. They are superb grotesques. This disparity between background and foreground derives from Balzac's belief in the "ruling passion." Yet we expect, thus far on in the nineteenth century, and of a younger contemporary of Stendhal, some chiaroscuro. His formulations of the ways in which human beings are likely to behave, given various motives, are too easy. "When poverty ceases, avarice begins," he announces in "Lost Illusions," a conclusion of dubious validity intended to clarify one of the most important relationships in that novel. "That fellow is all you really care about," Joseph Bridau says to his mother in "A Bachelor's Establishment" when speaking of his elder brother; "each of us has some hopeless passion."

Such notions do not explain adequately the decisions and revisions of the moment. And Balzac's customary solution for dilemmas created by the human comedy is not satisfying. The society he portrays, he is forever insisting, is "based solely on the power of money." The chief cure for its ills is traditional Catholicism. But the wounds are really incurable, for Balzac's is not at all a religious sensibility. His pious characters, those noble and suffering females like Agathe Bridau in this novel, tend to be either theatrical confections or, worse, bores. Their piety is impotent before a ruling and triumphant passion which usually turns out to be one or another of the seven deadly sins.

We can overlook these defects. "A Bachelor's Establishment" also shows Balzac as a master of the terrible. It traces the rise and fall of three monsters: the beautiful, ruthless, and stupid Flore Brazier, who is undone by her one scrap of humanity; the luckless provincial bully for love of whom she is ruined; and the monumentally evil and inhuman Philippe Bridau. Philippe is a triumph. He has, so far as Balzac cares, no inner life save a determination to become rich and respected and "a savage contempt for all women." When this Bonapartist, whose occupation is gone at Waterloo, is banished to the provinces he puts aside his drunkenness, idleness, and lust and concentrates his talents on outwitting Flore and her lover. The cunning and the boldness by which he succeeds are so great that they confer on him a tawdry grandeur. Paradoxically, the outmoded psychology of the ruling passion does work after all to create magnificent extra-human figures, though Philippe and his enemies are more closely related to characters out of Corneille or Molière than to the greatest creations of nineteenth-century fiction.

ERNEST JONES

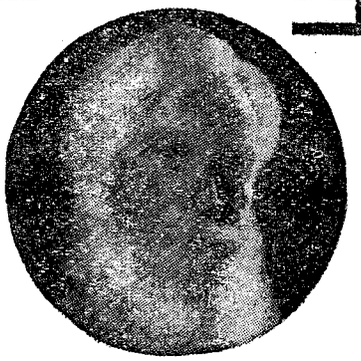
Coming Soon in *The Nation*
"The Eagle and the Roots"
by Louis Adamic
Reviewed by Mark Gayn

Books in Brief

THOMAS JEFFERSON: SCIENTIST. By Edwin T. Martin. Schuman. $4. This volume is a pleasantly discursive and anecdotal account of Jefferson's scientific and quasi-scientific interests, ideas, and accomplishments. It brings together a good deal of scattered information, is appropriately illustrated and usefully documented, but makes no attempt to relate Jefferson's scientific activity to his other interests and aims. Two excellent chapters are devoted to his contemporary reputation as a man of science and to the ways in which his political and ecclesiastical enemies used that reputation in order to malign and traduce him.

MONSOON SEAS. By Alan Villiers. McGraw-Hill. $4.75. The story of the Indian Ocean and its fabulous islands, fascinating in content and effective in style. The author sketches their history from the Phoenicians down through the days of the spice trade and the coming of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, to the present day, and describes his own

HAVELOCK ELLIS PSYCHOLOGY of SEX



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voyage on a coastal trading dhow. There are chapters on shipwrecks and adventures, on pearlers, whalers, and wars, and a particularly good one on pirates from which we learn that in the eighteenth century they made their headquarters in Madagascar, where they were regularly outfitted by a New York firm. An excellent addition to the Oceans of the World Series.

Drama Note

"THE MALE ANIMAL" (Music Box), starring Elliot Nugent, Martha Scott, and Robert Preston, has not suffered from the passing of time. In fact, the Thurber-Nugent drama about a professor who has to defend himself against both a trustee trying to dictate what he is to teach and an ex-suitor of his wife's with a reputation as an all-star halfback is even more pertinent and amusing than when it was first seen in 1940. Events since then have sharpened the contrast between what is funny in the play and what is not, and given this top-notch comedy added depth. A serious and a light theme are so expertly blended that they help put each other's message across. By all odds "The Male Animal" is the most delightful comedy that has come to Broadway in a long time; it is a type that has been sorely missed in recent years. C. H.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TWO recent books are intended to make it possible for anyone to assemble the components of a good radio-phonograph. The first, "Make Music Live," by Irving Greene, James R. Radcliffe, and Robert Scharff (Medill McBride, $4.50), discusses the purpose and operation of each component and what is desirable and undesirable in its characteristics and performance, but makes no evaluations or recommendations of particular components now available—which in my opinion deprives the book of practical usefulness. The authors expect the reader to be able, with the information they provide, to examine the various components in the retail store, to ask the necessary questions and obtain the necessary answers, and to make the right selections—which I don't think he can do.

The other book is "The *Saturday Review* Home Book of Recorded Music and Sound Reproduction," by Edward T. Canby, C. G. Burke, and Irving Kolodin (Prentice Hall, $4.50); and in his section Home Reproduction and How to Improve It, Mr. Burke not only discusses the components but offers five combinations of particular components ranging from the best without regard for cost (something above $2000) to the least expensive ($225) that can give the minimum of good performance. The combinations represent decisions by experts "accustomed to listening as musicians or as electronic engineers, a few as both" in direct-comparison tests of unidentified components. As someone who hasn't heard the combinations or most of their components I would seem to be in no position to comment on them; but there is a basis for the statements I will make—the statements not only of dissent but, before that, of my belief that Mr. Burke's section is a respectable performance and his combinations will produce the superb or excellent or good sound he says they will.

I listen strictly as a musician; but in the past fifteen years I have had listening with me one or another engineer with the rare combination of technical competence, an accurate mind, and an ear for musical sound; and my experience with them has given me confidence in what they have said about equipment I haven't myself heard. It was such an engineer who heard and was able to demonstrate to me the defects of my speaker system a year ago, and who suggested, as a speaker worthy of my Brook amplifier, the RCA LC-1A, which, when he demonstrated it, took my breath away with the sweetness of the highs, the clarity and cleanness all the way down, the absence of strain in the most powerful sonorities. Having decided to acquire it I had next to decide what to put it in; and my engineer suggested building the enclosure with a bass-reflex vent that could be closed, permitting me to compare and decide between the bass-reflex and the completely closed infinite-baffle types of box. But Lincoln Walsh, designer of the Brook amplifier, was so emphatic in his opposition to bass-reflex and his insistence on the completely closed box

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that I deferred to his judgment and put the LC-1A into a closed, rigid, and lined box with an interior space of 10 cubic feet, in which it produces sound that is a delight to the ear.

It is a surprise, therefore, to find no mention of the LC-1A speaker by Mr. Burke; and a further surprise to find him opposing the closed box and recommending the bass-reflex. Lack of time has kept me from investigating the various Klipschorn-type speaker systems that he includes in his combinations; but my engineer, who has heard them, tells me they give remarkable reproduction of bass but not as fine reproduction of highs as the LC-1A. One improvement in Mr. Burke's speaker arrangements, in his opinion, would be to use an LC-1A for the range above 150 cycles with a Klipschorn for the range below. And noting that $1400 of the cost of Mr. Burke's regardless-of-cost combination pays for two Klipschorn-type Electro-Voice "Patrician" speaker systems, my engineer remarks that considerably less money would provide three or four LC-1As whose power-handling capacities at very low frequencies would, he thinks, be hardly distinguishable from the Klipsch's in a living room, and whose middle and high range he considers the best he has heard. Also, noting that Mr. Burke's $500-to-$700 combination includes a Klipsch corner enclosure with an Altec-Lansing 604-B speaker, my engineer says he considers the Bozak superior in quality not only to this speaker but to all others in its price category (about $55), adding that the low power-handling capacity of one Bozak can be remedied by using two, with an amplifier of sufficient power to compensate for the speaker's low efficiency.

My engineer testifies to the outstanding excellence of the Fairchild pickup, one of the two Mr. Burke recommends for his best combination; and having recently tried the Pickering again with my new speaker I can myself testify to its excellence and its superiority over the G. E.—its more clearly and cleanly defined reproduction throughout its range. But I should mention someone's complaint that her Pickering arm didn't hold the cartridge tightly enough.

For his best combination Mr. Burke chooses the H. H. Scott 214-A and the Bell 2145-A in preference to other fine amplifiers because of their systems of equalization circuits which alter the frequency response of the amplifier to fit the different frequency characteristics used in recording by the different companies. The sounds from my machine support the opinion of my engineer, among others, that the single equalization with turn-over point at 500 cycles provided by the Brook amplifier is adequate for recording characteristics with turn-over points a few hundred cycles either way, and the Brook's treble and bass controls provide the necessary adjustment not only for differences in recorded treble boost and bass attenuation but for the equally important differences caused by variations in microphone placement and acoustic conditions. However, one can, if he wishes, supplement the Brook's equalization with a Pickering equalizer.

My own recommendations are, then, a Brook amplifier, possibly with a Pickering equalizer; two Fairchild or Pickering cartridges with diamond styli in the Fairchild or Pickering arm; a Rek-O-Kut motor and turntable; and either an RCA LC-1A speaker combined with a Klipschorn, or one or more LC-1As in completely closed boxes. A person living in his own home can mount the LC-1As in a wall between two rooms, which my engineer, disagreeing with Mr. Burke, considers the best arrangement of all.

CONTRIBUTORS

HAROLD STRAUSS, editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., spent a year in Japan and speaks Japanese.

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

"My Sister and I": Definitely Fiction

Dear Sirs: It is surprising that Samuel Roth, publisher of "My Sister and I," which he claims to be Friedrich Nietzsche's autobiography, continues to insist (*The Nation*, June 21) that the work is genuine after it has been attacked as a fake by such authorities as Thomas Mann, Walther A. Kaufmann, and Ludwig Marcuse, and by myself.

Mrs. Maud Rosenthal, née Levy, daughter of the "translator" of the book, did not tell me that she "knew nothing about her father having translated 'My Sister and I' and written an introduction to it." She and her husband assured me that in the late Dr. Levy's files there was "nowhere . . . a mention of anything that might even with the most abstruse imagination be connected with the matter, or rather fiction, of 'My Sister and I.'"

There are dozens of reasons why this "autobiography" cannot be authentic. It is true that "madmen have periods of lucidity," but it is also common knowledge that from 1889 onward Nietzsche's memory was completely gone and his mental level that of a small child.

New York ALFRED WERNER

"Democrats" for Douglas

Dear Sirs: On Saturday, May 10, some 600 students from twenty-seven colleges and universities gathered under the sponsorship of the Southern California Political Science Association to participate in two mock nominating conventions, held at Pepperdine College. Since you have recently conducted a Presidential preference poll among your readers, I thought you might be interested in the results.

The "Republicans" nominated Eisenhower on the fourth ballot. The tallies on the final ballot were Eisenhower 619, Warren 519, and Taft 32. Senator Kefauver received the "Democratic" nomination, also on the fourth ballot. On the third, however, the leader was Justice William O. Douglas.

Starting with an uninspiring 46 votes on the first ballot, the Douglas "boom" gained momentum until at the close of the third ballot he led with 510 votes; had the Douglas supporters been able to garner 94 additional votes, he would have been nominated on the third ballot. In the next roll call the Russell forces joined Kefauver and assured the latter the nomination.

JAMES ARMSTRONG
Manhattan Beach, Cal.

An M. V. A. Advocate

Dear Sirs: The article by Richard G. Baumhoff and the editorial comments on the Missouri flood in the April 26 issue of *The Nation* were excellent. . . . There is strong sentiment throughout Montana for the establishment of an M. V. A. . . . The Regional Committee for an M. V. A., of which I am a member, has reorganized and intends to participate actively in the hearings before the Missouri Basin Commission. We feel that events since 1944, when the present program was initiated, have demonstrated conclusively that the floods cannot be controlled or the basin developed without a completely integrated program, which can be attained only through the pattern established by T. V. A.

Helena, Mont. LEIF ERICKSON

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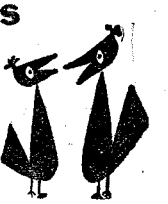

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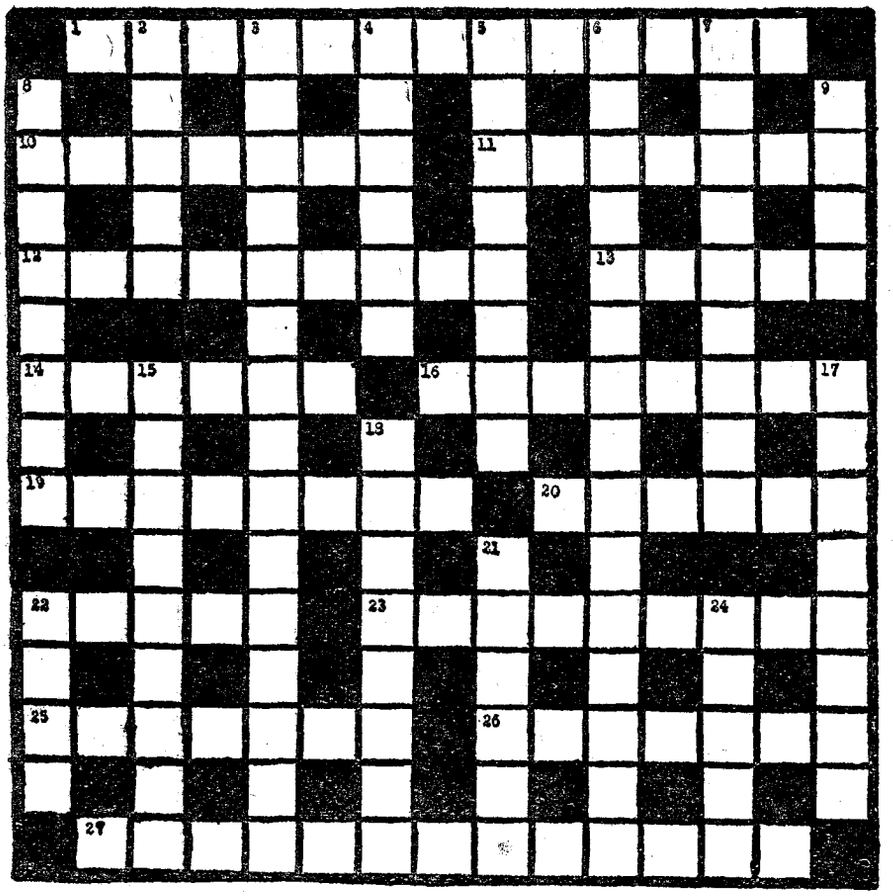
Crossword Puzzle No. 474

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Some are annoyed to find it on the furniture, but welcome it the morning after. (1, 4, 2, 3, 3)
10 Where ones waits for a kiss on the brow? (3, 4)
11 ". . . with eagle eyes
He stared at the — and all his men
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."
(Keats) (7)
12 A dead spore might not be safe to trifle with. (9)
13 Your own self-esteem brings them back finally. (5)
14 To impose as a burden. (6)
16 You might find us in a little company seizure hearing. (8)
19 Change the design of Easter eggs, perhaps. (8)
20 You'll recognize fruit of the wild corn around it. (6)
22 Implies the pitch is an up-shoot. (That's the way to soak!) (5)
23 Sounds like one might listen for Martin Kane! (It might win a prize, too!) (9)
25 It's rare, but it would be even rarer to find it at a smoker! (4, 3)
26 Fancy for a low sound. (7)
27 In a Rossini opera I slowly break down, not unreasonably. (13)

DOWN

2 A great number of entertainers might be found in some churches. (5)
3 Primarily, it's pointless to look here for just a second. (2, 3, 5, 5)
4 General Stanley told a terrible story when he claimed to be one. (6)
5 The highest mark of the six-gun killer? (3-5)
6 The putting out of a letter of "love and kisses"? (15)
7 Nothing very loud with the position of a player out-of-balance. (3-6)
8 Submissive to constraint with a broken toe in bed. (8)
9 Dies with one on them? (Implies the service can't be touched, as well!) (4)
15 He doesn't act very happy, usually! (9)
17 Study Jacques, for example, as a colleague. (8)
18 It's about time! (8)
21 Not really the hair wave, but it might convey a message. (6)
22 Stuff from the East, perhaps (4)
24 Pronounce 6? (5)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 473

ACROSS:—1 DOUBLE EXPOSURE; 9 ALLEGED; 10 and 11 COUNCIL BLUFFS; 12 and 21 COMPOUND FRACTURE; 14 SCALPER; 15 PLEAD; 17 SAHIB; 19 DIPTERA; 23 PETREL; 25 TESTUDO; 26 ACETONE; 27 SYMPATHY STRIKE.

DOWN:—1 DEAD BEATS; 2 UMLAUTS; 3 LEG OF LAMB; 4 ENDS; 5 PICTOGRAPH; 6 STUMP; 7 RECLUSE; 8 CLOD; 13 SPIDERWORT; 15 PRECEDENT; 16 DECOLLETE; 18 HEARSAY; 20 A PRIORI; 21 FITS; 22 THUMP; 24 MARY.

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